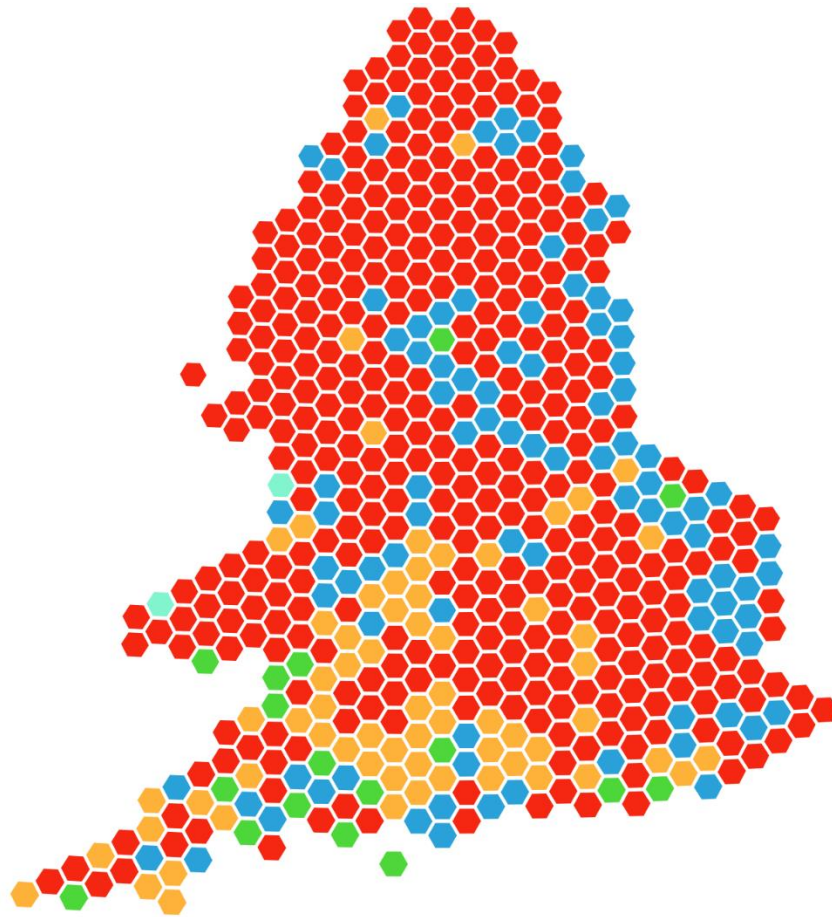


# Electoral pacts and the UK constitution

An update one year on

Andrew Blick



Source: Electoral Calculus and Find Out Now for the Constitution Society • Created with Datawrapper

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*An electoral Pact between Greens, Labour, and Liberal Democrats could deprive the Conservative Party of office. It might, in turn, bring about major changes in the United Kingdom (UK) constitution itself. Elections held earlier this month have stimulated further interest in the idea of cooperation between these parties to maximise non-Conservative votes. It seems that Labour and the Liberal Democrats have begun a practice of targeting their campaigning in parliamentary byelections so that they avoid heavily contesting the same seats. It is plausible that this approach will be extended more fully at the next General Election. There was also some discussion as to whether and how far there was a concerted and coordinated selective non-contestation tactic employed at the recent local elections. But at present there is no sign of the employment of such an approach for parliamentary contests.*

*We have commissioned research to predict the outcome of an arrangement that went further and under which the Greens, Labour and Liberal Democrats agreed between them to run only a single candidate in every constituency in Wales and England at the next General Election. We note that this scenario is top-down and uniform in nature, and that some advocates of cross-party cooperation prefer other models. We are also aware that securing and implementing this type of Pact would involve overcoming various political and procedural barriers, and might raise certain legal complications. Disagreement with such an arrangement is likely to focus on its supposedly being an improper exploitation of the system and an inappropriate reduction of the choice available to voters. However, it could be held that such objections are in fact criticisms of the existing electoral system, which creates a need for pacts, and does not offer meaningful choices even if multiple parties appear on the ballot paper. A Pact could offer a means of escape from this electoral system and create the conditions for the adoption of a different one. It seems likely that such a Pact would entail a joint commitment to electoral reform, moving to a more proportional means of determining the composition of the House of Commons (perhaps subject to a referendum). Such an outcome, were it achieved, would have radical implications for the operation of the UK constitution.*

*Aside from debates about practicalities and outcomes, our purpose here is to model what might be the consequences of pursuing the logic of a Pact to its fullest extent. We are interested in how voters might respond to it and therefore how likely it is to deliver on its objective: maximising seats won in the House of Commons by the participants in it at the expense of the Conservative Party. It is for those who might potentially gain from a Pact to decide whether it is worth attempting to surmount the obstacles. We take no position on whether their doing so is advisable or desirable; but we show that it could have considerable electoral, political and constitutional impact.*

*A year ago, we commissioned opinion research finding that a Pact could mean that the Conservatives lost their majority in the House of Commons. At the time, the standing of the Conservatives as measured in opinion research was higher than it is now. The Conservatives have subsequently encountered various difficulties. The popularity of the Party has declined; and they suffered significant losses in the May elections. Nonetheless, it cannot be assumed that the Conservatives' Commons majority will disappear at the next General Election; and it is less certain still that Labour could win outright.*

*Our new poll shows that, using the Pact we model, the Conservatives could lose two-thirds of their seats and would be ejected from government. The Pact parties would have a landslide victory, between them winning over 300 seats more than the Conservatives.*

- *Labour could gain around 80 seats more than they might have done otherwise;*

- *the Lib Dems could win 71 seats, which would be their best performance since 1923 under Asquith; and*
- *the Greens could win 17 seats, which is well ahead of their best expectations without a Pact.*

The targeted non-contestation of seats has a firm place in the UK political-constitutional repertoire. Within the context of the ‘First-Past-the-Post’ (FPTP) or Single Member Plurality system used for elections to the House of Commons, it can potentially make a significant difference to the outcome. This practice can take the form of more informal and unilateral arrangements – as when the Brexit Party chose not to run in Conservative-held seats in 2019. Alternatively, it can involve agreements or pacts, for instance that between the Liberals and the embryonic Labour Party (then the Labour Representation Committee) in the 1900s; and the ‘coupon’ election of 1918 and the National arrangement of 1931, both of which saw the governing group achieve overwhelming victories. In the 1980s the Liberals and Social Democrats fought general elections as a single force; and the Labour and Cooperative parties have a longstanding and ongoing arrangement. Pacts (along with other comparable techniques) are, therefore, an established practice by which it is possible to maximise the efficient deployment of votes under FPTP, and in this sense are important to an understanding of the constitution and how it works in practice. Given their present salience, the electoral prospects for a Pact in the contemporary environment, and what it might lead to, requires attention.

To appreciate the significance of the Pact concept more fully, it is necessary to consider the role of FPTP in the UK political system. The employment of FPTP for elections to the Commons is a distinctive, defining and controversial feature of the UK constitution. Arguments for and against this method of determining the composition of the primary chamber of the United Kingdom (UK) Parliament are well-rehearsed. But whatever position one takes in this debate, what is indisputable is that FPTP frequently leads to a single party that secured well under half of the votes cast in the General Election winning an absolute majority in the Commons. Two examples among many help illustrate this point. At the 2019 General Election, the Conservative Party won 56 per cent of the seats with 43.6 per cent of the total vote. In May 2005, Labour was able to achieve 55.1 per cent of seats on only 35.2 per cent of votes.

This phenomenon is significant in itself. Its importance is magnified because of what is at stake. Under the UK system, having a majority in the Commons is of pronounced importance. It is the senior chamber in Parliament. While the Lords is willing to assert itself up to a point, the Commons is – in law and through convention – clearly the more powerful of the two. Ascendancy within the Commons, then, is a route to predominance within Parliament. Furthermore, given the nature of the ‘unwritten’ or ‘uncodified’ UK constitution, Parliament is in a position of exceptional importance. It can in theory accomplish virtually any legal objective through passing an Act. While various practical, political and moral limitations upon its power may exist, there is no higher law set out in a constitutional text to constrain the UK Parliament. In as far as the established doctrine of ‘parliamentary sovereignty’ prevails, all other institutions – such as the courts and the devolved legislatures – are ultimately subordinate to it.

Though never all-powerful in practice, an administration with a secure Commons majority can accomplish much. One use it can make of its power is to alter the constitutional rules themselves. In so doing, it might pursue objectives that some regard as improper – for instance,

if they are seen as intended to improve the governing party's chances of continued electoral success, to maintain its purchase on power. Recent changes provided for by the *Elections Act 2022*, in particular with regard to voter identification and the status of the Electoral Commission have raised allegations of abuse. There is arguably potential for further such transgression.

The FPTP system, and its interaction with other aspects of the constitution, is both significant and arguably problematic. A pessimistic way of viewing this relationship is that it provides access to a disproportionately large amount of authority via a disproportionately small amount of electoral support. Such a tendency is less objectionable if accompanied by regular changeovers in the group that holds power. But often it is not. In the period since 1945, the UK has seen prolonged periods of single party dominance – 1951-1964 (Conservative); 1979-1997 (Conservative); and 1997-2010 (Labour). The Conservative Party today has been in office, in coalition or alone, since 2010.

A system that offers such rewards is resistant to reform. Those who are in a position to change it lack an incentive to do so, since they are its beneficiaries. When a referendum was held on the possibility of moving away from FPTP in 2011, the model on offer was the Alternative Vote, which – like FPTP – is not proportional. In any case, AV was heavily defeated. Were a move to a more proportional system achieved, however, it would be likely to have extensive consequences. It would be important in itself, changing the relationship between votes cast and seats won at elections. But its impact would be likely to extend well beyond this immediate (though important) issue. Some kind of reconfiguration in the party system would seem likely, along with the normalisation of multi-party deals underpinning governments. These outcomes would, in turn, be likely to lead to further constitutional changes, and a cultural shift in UK politics, in which there was increased emphasis upon negotiation and trade-off, as opposed to zero-sum, winner-takes-all competition.

It is worth considering the circumstances in which a group committed to a change in the voting system might come to power. Success under FPTP is often attributable to a large extent to the way in which the votes that the winner *does not receive* divide between different parties. For instance, in 1979 the Conservative Party achieved a vote share of 43.9 per cent at the previous General Election in 1979, securing 55 per cent of seats in the Commons. At the following General Election in 1983, its total proportion of votes cast fell slightly, to 42.4 per cent. Yet it increased its percentage of constituencies won to 66.1 per cent. A reason for this change was that, in 1983, a large portion of non-Conservative votes were split fairly evenly between Labour and the newly formed Liberal/Social Democratic Party Alliance, which had not existed in 1979 (27.6 per cent and 25.4 per cent respectively).

In a different context, the Conservative Party in 2019 also benefited from the way in which non-Conservative votes spread between different parties. In 2017, the Conservatives won 49 per cent of seats on 42.4 per cent of votes cast. In 2019, a slight increase to 43.6 per cent of the popular vote yielded 56 per cent of seats in the Commons. In 2019, the Labour vote dropped by 7.8 per cent on 2017 to 32.2 per cent; while the Liberal Democrats in 2019 won 11.5 per cent; and the Green Party 2.7 per cent. The combined vote of these three opposition parties was 46.4 per cent – not a majority, but larger than that received by the Conservatives.<sup>1</sup> The disproportionate FPTP system meant that these relative levels of support were not reflected in the results of the election. But an electoral arrangement of some kind between the three parties

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<sup>1</sup> The Scottish National Party received 3.9 per cent; and the Brexit Party 2.0 per cent.

would offer a potential means of changing the outcome. Such a Pact would require concessions on all sides, and it is likely that it would involve Labour committing itself to support the introduction of a proportional representation system (or perhaps to the holding of a referendum on this subject). In other words, it would be an attempt to succeed within the existing model, not as an end in itself, but as a means of replacing it.

With the possibility of a Pact in mind, the Constitution Society last year commissioned opinion research to assess the electoral prospects for a Green/Labour/Liberal Democrat Pact. It has now repeated this exercise. This polling is valuable because it offers insight into how voters might respond to a Pact, and the possible electoral consequences. Pollster Find Out Now and election experts Electoral Calculus ran an MRP poll on voting intention for Westminster in the presence of an electoral Pact on our behalf. It was a large-scale exercise, involving over 16,000 respondents, carried out from 9 to 12 May 2022.

The poll asked England and Wales residents whether and how they intend to vote if there were an imminent general election and there was an electoral Pact between Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the Green party.

The question assumed that there was an electoral Pact between Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the Green party throughout England and Wales. It was also assumed that the Pact did not apply in Scotland, and that Plaid Cymru were not included.

It was also assumed that the 573 seats in England and Wales were allocated between the Pact parties, so that only one of the Pact parties would stand a candidate in each seat. The method of seat selection was as follows:

- If a Pact party was elected to the seat in 2019 or gained the seat in a by-election, then that party is selected for that seat
- Of the remaining seats, one seat in 16 (eg 6 per cent) is selected for the Greens, based on the Greens' vote share in 2019. The selected seats must contain a fair and even variety of 'winnability'
- Of the remaining seats, seats are selected for Labour and the Liberal Democrats depending on which party received more votes in 2019

See Appendix 3 for the full list of seat selections.

This poll is very similar to a previous poll we commissioned in June 2021. The results of the previous poll are also included in the table below for reference.

The headline table of predicted seats is:

Table 1.

Party	General Election 2019	Prediction with pact (June 2021)	Prediction With pact (May 2022)	Change vs GE 2019
CON	365	307	<b>101</b>	-264
LAB	203	239	<b>393</b>	+190
SNP	48	48	<b>48</b>	0
LIB	11	25	<b>71</b>	+60
Green	1	9	<b>17</b>	+16
Plaid	4	4	<b>2</b>	-2

These results show that an electoral Pact between Labour, Liberal Democrats and the Greens could make a fundamental difference to the outcome of a general election.

Current opinion polls show that Labour might be largest party after a fresh general election, but there is no guarantee that it would have enough seats for an outright overall majority. The latest Electoral Calculus monthly poll of polls suggests that Labour would be short about 10 seats of a majority. The recent local election results also suggest that Labour's support is partial and patchy.

But if there were an electoral Pact between Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the Greens in England and Wales, then the Conservatives could lose two-thirds of their seats and would be ejected from government. The Pact parties would have a landslide victory, winning over 300 seats more than the Conservatives.

Within the Pact, all three parties would benefit from it. Labour nearly doubles its seat total. The Liberal Democrats go up to 71 seats, which would be the best Liberal performance since 1923. And the Greens could win 17 seats compared to their existing single seat. This could be perceived as win-win-win for these three parties.

The poll did not include Scotland and the calculations assumed no change to the 2019 election result there. In Wales, the poll suggests that Plaid might lose a couple of seats to the Pact.

Respondents were asked two questions. The first was a general question of likelihood to vote and the second question was tailored to the respondent's particular constituency, depending on which party had been (hypothetically) selected to stand in that seat. See appendix 1 for the full list of questions that were asked.

Some caveats are necessary. The Boundary Commission has produced initial proposals and we can assume that the next election will be fought after changes to constituency boundaries are implemented in 2023. It is unclear at this stage what impact this will have on the electoral prospects of the different parties, or a putative Pact.

Furthermore, if there were a Pact, the platform the parties involved were running on would be highly significant. It is reasonable to expect that the Greens and the Liberal Democrats would seek some form of proportional representation as a condition of their involvement. But would the parties run on a joint policy platform beyond this stipulation? Political circumstances and negotiation will determine the answer to this question, and many of the others posed by the prospect of an electoral alliance. However, this research indicates that, in present circumstances, supporters of the Labour, Liberal Democrat and Green parties are amenable to voting for a Pact candidate, even if the candidate is not drawn from their own party. Depending on how the seats are allocated, all three parties could secure a significant ‘win’ from a Pact. In purely electoral terms then, a Pact between Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the Greens is a viable proposition – one which, if taken up, would likely lead to the major constitutional change of an alternative parliamentary voting system.

Electoral pacts or similar arrangements have been used on numerous occasions in UK political history, and have sometimes been highly successful. Whether – and if so on what terms – the parties focused on here are able to reach an agreement; and if the leaders of the Pact were able to present it in an appealing way to voters, are matters of politics. But there appears to be potential on which the opposition parties might seek to capitalise.

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## **Technical details**

Find Out Now polled 16,279 adults in England and Wales online between 9-12 May 2022. The sample was weighted to be representative by gender, age, social grade, other demographics and past voting patterns. Regression techniques were used to infer projected seat results.

Both Find Out Now and Electoral Calculus are members of the British Polling Council and abide by its rules.

### **Electoral Calculus**

Electoral Calculus is a political consultancy specialising in quantitative analysis and modelling for electoral and other market research projects. Its pre-poll prediction for the 2019 general election was the most accurate published forecast. It was founded by Martin Baxter, its CEO.

### **Find Out Now**

Find Out Now gathers poll responses from Pick My Postcode, a daily panel from 2.6 million members. Highly profiled respondents can be targeted instantly, and at scale to deliver reliable results fast.

More than 73 million responses have been received to Find Out Now's polls since it launched in November 2018. Find Out Now are Market Research Society Company Partners and a member of the British Polling Council.

### **Regression polling**

Modern polling analysis often uses statistical regression techniques to get more accurate and geographically detailed results. Also called MRP (multi-level regression and post stratification) they have been used successfully by Electoral Calculus and other pollsters to predict general elections, local elections and the 2019 European elections.

These techniques work by spotting patterns between people's demographic characteristics and their likelihood to vote for various parties.



## Appendix 1 – Questions

Respondents were asked two questions. The first was a general question of likelihood to vote.

Q1. We know that many people in your area didn't vote in the last general election. How likely do you think you are to vote in the next general election on a scale from 0 to 10? (10 - certain to vote, 0 - certain not to vote)

The second question depends on the constituency that the respondent lives in. In general terms, the question has the format

Q2. Suppose at the next general election that all the usual political parties are standing in your seat except that the [OTHER PARTY1] and [OTHER PARTY2] have agreed not to stand and are asking their supporters to vote [SELECTED PARTY]. Which party, if any, would you vote for, in this general election?

This had three particular instances, depending on which pact party was selected for the relevant seat. These question variants were:

Q2A. [For voters in seats selected for Labour] Suppose at the next general election that all the usual political parties are standing in your seat except that the Liberal Democrats and the Greens have agreed not to stand and are asking their supporters to vote Labour. Which party, if any, would you vote for, in this general election?

Q2B. [For voters in seats selected for the Liberal Democrats] Suppose at the next general election that all the usual political parties are standing in your seat except that Labour and the Greens have agreed not to stand and are asking their supporters to vote Liberal Democrat. Which party, if any, would you vote for, in this general election?

Q2C. [For voters in seats selected for the Green party] Suppose at the next general election that all the usual political parties are standing in your seat except that Labour and the Liberal Democrats have agreed not to stand and are asking their supporters to vote Green. Which party, if any, would you vote for, in this general election?

Respondents were not given the option of voting for a pact party which was not selected for their own seat. Respondents were given the additional option of “Would not vote” if the existence of the pact made them decide on that.

## Appendix 2 – List of seats predicted to change hands

Table shows current and predicted winning party in 266 seats which the poll predicts would change hands.

SeatName	Current	Prediction
Aldershot	CON	LAB
Altrincham and Sale West	CON	LAB
Arundel and South Downs	CON	LIB
Ashfield	CON	LAB
Ashford	CON	LAB
Aylesbury	CON	LAB
Banbury	CON	LAB
Barrow and Furness	CON	LAB
Basingstoke	CON	LAB
Bassetlaw	CON	LAB
Beckenham	CON	LAB
Bedfordshire Mid	CON	LAB
Bedfordshire North East	CON	LAB
Bedfordshire South West	CON	LAB
Berwick-upon-Tweed	CON	LAB
Bexleyheath and Crayford	CON	LAB
Birmingham Northfield	CON	LAB
Bishop Auckland	CON	LAB
Blackpool North and Cleveleys	CON	LAB
Blackpool South	CON	LAB
Blyth Valley	CON	LAB
Bolsover	CON	LAB
Bolton North East	CON	LAB
Bolton West	CON	LAB
Bournemouth East	CON	Green
Bournemouth West	CON	Green
Bracknell	CON	LAB
Broadland	CON	LAB
Bromley and Chislehurst	CON	LAB
Broxtowe	CON	LAB
Buckingham	CON	LIB
Burnley	CON	LAB
Burton	CON	LAB
Bury North	CON	LAB
Bury South	CON	LAB
Bury St Edmunds	CON	Green
Calder Valley	CON	LAB
Camborne and Redruth	CON	LAB
Cambridgeshire North West	CON	LAB
Cambridgeshire South	CON	LIB
Cambridgeshire South East	CON	LIB
Carlisle	CON	LAB
Carshalton and Wallington	CON	LIB
Cheadle	CON	LIB
Chelmsford	CON	LIB
Chelsea and Fulham	CON	LIB
Cheltenham	CON	LIB

Chesham and Amersham	CON	LIB
Chichester	CON	LIB
Chingford and Woodford Green	CON	LAB
Chippenham	CON	LIB
Chipping Barnet	CON	LAB
Cities of London and Westminster	CON	LIB
Colchester	CON	LAB
Colne Valley	CON	LAB
Congleton	CON	LAB
Copeland	CON	LAB
Corby	CON	LAB
Cornwall North	CON	LIB
Cornwall South East	CON	LAB
Cotswolds, The	CON	LIB
Crawley	CON	LAB
Crewe and Nantwich	CON	LAB
Croydon South	CON	LAB
Darlington	CON	LAB
Dartford	CON	LAB
Derby North	CON	LAB
Derbyshire Dales	CON	LAB
Derbyshire Mid	CON	LAB
Derbyshire North East	CON	LAB
Devizes	CON	LIB
Devon Central	CON	LAB
Devon North	CON	LIB
Devon West and Torridge	CON	LIB
Dewsbury	CON	LAB
Don Valley	CON	LAB
Dorset South	CON	LAB
Dorset West	CON	Green
Dover	CON	LAB
Dudley North	CON	LAB
Durham North West	CON	LAB
Eastbourne	CON	LIB
Eastleigh	CON	LIB
Eddisbury	CON	LAB
Elmet and Rothwell	CON	LAB
Epsom and Ewell	CON	LIB
Erewash	CON	LAB
Esher and Walton	CON	LIB
Filton and Bradley Stoke	CON	LAB
Finchley and Golders Green	CON	LIB
Folkestone and Hythe	CON	LAB
Forest of Dean	CON	Green
Gedling	CON	LAB
Gillingham and Rainham	CON	LAB
Gloucester	CON	LAB
Gravesham	CON	LAB
Great Grimsby	CON	LAB
Guildford	CON	LIB
Halesowen and Rowley Regis	CON	LAB
Hampshire East	CON	Green
Hampshire North East	CON	LIB

Harborough	CON	LAB
Harlow	CON	LAB
Harrogate and Knaresborough	CON	LIB
Harrow East	CON	LAB
Harwich and North Essex	CON	LAB
Hastings and Rye	CON	LAB
Hazel Grove	CON	LIB
Hemel Hempstead	CON	LAB
Hendon	CON	LAB
Henley	CON	LIB
Hereford and South Herefordshire	CON	LAB
Hertford and Stortford	CON	LAB
Hertfordshire North East	CON	LAB
Hertfordshire South West	CON	LAB
Hertsmere	CON	LAB
Hexham	CON	LAB
Heywood and Middleton	CON	LAB
High Peak	CON	LAB
Hitchin and Harpenden	CON	LIB
Horsham	CON	LIB
Huntingdon	CON	LAB
Hyndburn	CON	LAB
Ipswich	CON	LAB
Isle of Wight	CON	Green
Keighley	CON	LAB
Kenilworth and Southam	CON	LIB
Kensington	CON	LAB
Kettering	CON	LAB
Kingswood	CON	LAB
Leigh	CON	LAB
Lewes	CON	Green
Lincoln	CON	LAB
Loughborough	CON	LAB
Macclesfield	CON	LAB
Maidenhead	CON	LIB
Maidstone and The Weald	CON	LAB
Middlesbrough South and Cleveland East	CON	LAB
Milton Keynes North	CON	LAB
Milton Keynes South	CON	LAB
Mole Valley	CON	LIB
Morecambe and Lunesdale	CON	LAB
Morley and Outwood	CON	LAB
Newbury	CON	LIB
Newcastle-under-Lyme	CON	LAB
Newton Abbot	CON	LIB
Norfolk Mid	CON	LAB
Norfolk South	CON	LAB
Northampton North	CON	LAB
Northampton South	CON	LAB
Norwich North	CON	LAB
Nuneaton	CON	LAB
Pendle	CON	LAB
Penistone and Stocksbridge	CON	LAB
Peterborough	CON	LAB

Plymouth Moor View	CON	LAB
Poole	CON	LAB
Portsmouth North	CON	LAB
Pudsey	CON	LAB
Reading West	CON	LAB
Redcar	CON	LAB
Redditch	CON	LAB
Reigate	CON	Green
Ribble South	CON	LAB
Rochester and Strood	CON	LAB
Rochford and Southend East	CON	LAB
Romsey and Southampton North	CON	LIB
Rossendale and Darwen	CON	LAB
Rother Valley	CON	LAB
Rugby	CON	LAB
Ruislip, Northwood and Pinner	CON	LAB
Runnymede and Weybridge	CON	LAB
Rushcliffe	CON	LAB
Salisbury	CON	Green
Scarborough and Whitby	CON	LAB
Scunthorpe	CON	LAB
Sedgefield	CON	LAB
Sherwood	CON	LAB
Shipley	CON	LAB
Shrewsbury and Atcham	CON	LAB
Solihull	CON	LAB
Somerset North	CON	Green
Somerset North East	CON	LAB
Somerton and Frome	CON	Green
Southampton Itchen	CON	LAB
Southend West	CON	LAB
Southport	CON	LAB
Spelthorne	CON	LAB
St Austell and Newquay	CON	LAB
St Ives	CON	LIB
Stafford	CON	Green
Stevenage	CON	LAB
Stockton South	CON	LAB
Stoke-on-Trent Central	CON	LAB
Stoke-on-Trent North	CON	LAB
Stoke-on-Trent South	CON	LAB
Stourbridge	CON	LAB
Stroud	CON	Green
Suffolk Coastal	CON	LAB
Surrey East	CON	LIB
Surrey Heath	CON	LIB
Surrey South West	CON	LIB
Sussex Mid	CON	LIB
Sutton and Cheam	CON	LIB
Sutton Coldfield	CON	LAB
Swindon North	CON	LAB
Swindon South	CON	LAB
Tatton	CON	LAB
Taunton Deane	CON	LIB

Telford	CON	LAB
Tewkesbury	CON	LIB
Thanet North	CON	LAB
Thanet South	CON	LAB
Thornbury and Yate	CON	LIB
Thurrock	CON	LAB
Tiverton and Honiton	CON	LAB
Torbay	CON	LIB
Totnes	CON	LIB
Truro and Falmouth	CON	Green
Tunbridge Wells	CON	LIB
Uxbridge and South Ruislip	CON	LAB
Wakefield	CON	LAB
Walsall North	CON	LAB
Wantage	CON	LIB
Warrington South	CON	LAB
Watford	CON	LAB
Waveney	CON	LAB
Wellingborough	CON	LAB
Wells	CON	LIB
Welwyn Hatfield	CON	LAB
West Bromwich East	CON	LAB
West Bromwich West	CON	LAB
Weston-Super-Mare	CON	LAB
Wiltshire North	CON	LIB
Wiltshire South West	CON	LAB
Wimbledon	CON	LIB
Winchester	CON	LIB
Windsor	CON	LIB
Witney	CON	LIB
Woking	CON	LIB
Wokingham	CON	LIB
Wolverhampton North East	CON	LAB
Wolverhampton South West	CON	LAB
Worcester	CON	LAB
Workington	CON	LAB
Worthing East and Shoreham	CON	LAB
Worthing West	CON	LAB
Wrekin, The	CON	LAB
Wycombe	CON	LAB
Yeovil	CON	LIB
York Outer	CON	LAB
Aberconwy	CON	LAB
Arfon	Plaid	LAB
Brecon and Radnorshire	CON	LIB
Bridgend	CON	LAB
Carmarthen West and Pembrokeshire South	CON	LAB
Ceredigion	Plaid	LIB
Clwyd South	CON	LAB
Clwyd West	CON	LAB
Delyn	CON	LAB
Monmouth	CON	LAB
Preseli Pembrokeshire	CON	LAB
Vale of Clwyd	CON	LAB

Vale of Glamorgan  
Wrexham  
Ynys Mon

CON	Green
CON	LAB
CON	LAB

## Appendix 3 – Selected seats

Seats selected for Labour (468 seats)

Aberavon, Aberconwy, Aldershot, Aldridge-Brownhills, Altrincham and Sale West, Alyn and Deeside, Amber Valley, Arfon, Ashfield, Ashford, Ashton under Lyne, Aylesbury, Banbury, Barking, Barnsley Central, Barnsley East, Barrow and Furness, Basildon and Billericay, Basildon South and East Thurrock, Basingstoke, Bassetlaw, Batley and Spen, Battersea, Beaconsfield, Beckenham, Bedford, Bedfordshire Mid, Bedfordshire North East, Bedfordshire South West, Bermondsey and Old Southwark, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Bethnal Green and Bow, Beverley and Holderness, Bexhill and Battle, Bexleyheath and Crayford, Birkenhead, Birmingham Edgbaston, Birmingham Erdington, Birmingham Hall Green, Birmingham Hodge Hill, Birmingham Ladywood, Birmingham Northfield, Birmingham Perry Barr, Birmingham Selly Oak, Birmingham Yardley, Bishop Auckland, Blackburn, Blackley and Broughton, Blackpool North and Cleveleys, Blackpool South, Blaenau Gwent, Blaydon, Blyth Valley, Bognor Regis and Littlehampton, Bolsover, Bolton North East, Bolton South East, Bolton West, Bootle, Boston and Skegness, Bosworth, Bracknell, Bradford East, Bradford South, Bradford West, Braintree, Brent Central, Brent North, Brentford and Isleworth, Brentwood and Ongar, Bridgend, Bridgwater and West Somerset, Brigg and Goole, Brighton Kemptown, Bristol East, Bristol North West, Bristol South, Bristol West, Broadland, Bromley and Chislehurst, Bromsgrove, Broxbourne, Broxtowe, Burnley, Burton, Bury North, Bury South, Caerphilly, Calder Valley, Camberwell and Peckham, Camborne and Redruth, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire North East, Cambridgeshire North West, Canterbury, Cardiff Central, Cardiff North, Cardiff South and Penarth, Cardiff West, Carlisle, Carmarthen East and Dinefwr, Carmarthen West and Pembrokeshire South, Castle Point, Charnwood, Chatham and Aylesford, Chester, City of, Chesterfield, Chingford and Woodford Green, Chipping Barnet, Chorley, Clacton, Cleethorpes, Clwyd South, Clwyd West, Colchester, Colne Valley, Congleton, Copeland, Corby, Cornwall South East, Coventry North East, Coventry North West, Coventry South, Crawley, Crewe and Nantwich, Croydon Central, Croydon North, Croydon South, Cynon Valley, Dagenham and Rainham, Darlington, Dartford, Daventry, Delyn, Denton and Reddish, Derby North, Derby South, Derbyshire Dales, Derbyshire Mid, Derbyshire North East, Derbyshire South, Devon Central, Devon East, Devon South West, Dewsbury, Don Valley, Doncaster North, Doncaster South, Dorset South, Dover, Dudley North, Dudley South, Dulwich and West Norwood, Durham North, Durham North West, Durham, City of, Dwyfor Meirionnydd, Ealing Central and Acton, Ealing North, Ealing Southall, Easington, East Ham, Eddisbury, Edmonton, Ellesmere Port and Neston, Elmet and Rothwell, Eltham, Enfield North, Enfield Southgate, Epping Forest, Erewash, Erith and Thamesmead, Exeter, Fareham, Faversham and Kent Mid, Feltham and Heston, Filton and Bradley Stoke, Folkestone and Hythe, Fylde, Gainsborough, Garston and Halewood, Gateshead, Gedling, Gillingham and Rainham, Gloucester, Gosport, Gower, Grantham and Stamford, Gravesham, Great Grimsby, Great Yarmouth, Greenwich and Woolwich, Hackney North and Stoke Newington, Hackney South and Shoreditch, Halesowen and Rowley Regis, Halifax, Haltemprice and Howden, Halton, Hammersmith, Hampstead and Kilburn, Harborough, Harlow, Harrow East, Harrow West, Hartlepool, Harwich and North Essex, Hastings and Rye, Havant, Hayes and Harlington, Hemel Hempstead, Hemsworth, Hendon, Hereford and South Herefordshire, Hertford and Stortford, Hertfordshire North East, Hertfordshire South West, Hertsmere, Hexham, Heywood and Middleton, High Peak, Holborn and St Pancras, Hornchurch and Upminster, Hornsey and Wood Green, Houghton and Sunderland South, Hove, Huddersfield, Hull East, Hull North, Hull West and Hessle, Huntingdon, Hyndburn, Ilford North, Ilford South, Ipswich, Islington North, Islington South and Finsbury, Islwyn, Jarrow, Keighley, Kensington, Kettering, Kingswood, Knowsley, Lancashire West, Lancaster and Fleetwood, Leeds Central, Leeds East, Leeds North East, Leeds North West, Leeds West, Leicester East, Leicester South, Leicester West, Leicestershire North West, Leicestershire South, Leigh, Lewisham Deptford, Lewisham East, Lewisham West and Penge, Leyton and Wanstead, Lichfield, Lincoln, Liverpool Riverside, Liverpool Walton, Liverpool Wavertree, Liverpool West Derby, Llanelli, Loughborough, Louth and Horncastle, Luton North, Luton South, Macclesfield, Maidstone and The Weald, Makerfield, Maldon, Manchester Central, Manchester Gorton, Manchester Withington, Mansfield, Meriden, Merthyr Tydfil and Rhymney, Middlesbrough, Middlesbrough South and Cleveland East, Milton Keynes North, Milton Keynes South, Mitcham and Morden, Monmouth, Morecambe and Lunesdale, Morley and Outwood,

Neath, New Forest East, Newark, Newcastle upon Tyne Central, Newcastle upon Tyne East, Newcastle upon Tyne North, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Newport East, Newport West, Norfolk Mid, Norfolk North West, Norfolk South, Norfolk South West, Normanton, Pontefract and Castleford, Northampton North, Northampton South, Northamptonshire South, Norwich North, Norwich South, Nottingham East, Nottingham North, Nottingham South, Nuneaton, Omore, Old Bexley and Sidcup, Oldham East and Saddleworth, Oldham West and Royton, Orpington, Oxford East, Pendle, Penistone and Stocksbridge, Penrith and The Border, Peterborough, Plymouth Moor View, Plymouth Sutton and Devonport, Pontypridd, Poole, Poplar and Limehouse, Portsmouth North, Portsmouth South, Preseli Pembrokeshire, Preston, Pudsey, Putney, Rayleigh and Wickford, Reading East, Reading West, Redcar, Redditch, Rhondda, Ribble South, Ribble Valley, Richmond, Rochdale, Rochester and Strood, Rochford and Southend East, Romford, Rossendale and Darwen, Rother Valley, Rotherham, Rugby, Ruislip, Northwood and Pinner, Runnymede and Weybridge, Rushcliffe, Salford and Eccles, Scarborough and Whitby, Scunthorpe, Sedgefield, Sefton Central, Selby and Ainsty, Sheffield Brightside and Hillsborough, Sheffield Central, Sheffield Hallam, Sheffield Heeley, Sheffield South East, Sherwood, Shipley, Shrewsbury and Atcham, Sittingbourne and Sheppey, Skipton and Ripon, Sleaford and North Hykeham, Slough, Solihull, Somerset North East, South Holland and The Deepings, South Shields, Southampton Itchen, Southampton Test, Southend West, Southport, Spelthorne, St Austell and Newquay, St Helens North, St Helens South and Whiston, Staffordshire Moorlands, Stalybridge and Hyde, Stevenage, Stockport, Stockton North, Stockton South, Stoke-on-Trent Central, Stoke-on-Trent North, Stoke-on-Trent South, Stone, Stourbridge, Streatham, Stretford and Urmston, Suffolk Central and Ipswich North, Suffolk Coastal, Suffolk South, Suffolk West, Sunderland Central, Sutton Coldfield, Swansea East, Swansea West, Swindon North, Swindon South, Tamworth, Tatton, Telford, Thanet North, Thanet South, Thirsk and Malton, Thurrock, Tiverton and Honiton, Tooting, Torfaen, Tottenham, Tynemouth, Tyneside North, Uxbridge and South Ruislip, Vale of Clwyd, Vauxhall, Wakefield, Wallasey, Walsall North, Walsall South, Walthamstow, Wansbeck, Warley, Warrington North, Warrington South, Warwick and Leamington, Warwickshire North, Washington and Sunderland West, Watford, Waveney, Weaver Vale, Wellingborough, Welwyn Hatfield, Wentworth and Dearne, West Bromwich East, West Bromwich West, West Ham, Westminster North, Weston-Super-Mare, Wigan, Wiltshire South West, Wirral South, Wirral West, Wolverhampton North East, Wolverhampton South East, Wolverhampton South West, Worcester, Worcestershire Mid, Workington, Worsley and Eccles South, Worthing East and Shoreham, Worthing West, Wrekin, The, Wrexham, Wycombe, Wyre and Preston North, Wyre Forest, Wythenshawe and Sale East, Ynys Mon, York Central, York Outer, Yorkshire East

#### Seats selected for Liberal Democrats (81 seats)

Arundel and South Downs, Bath, Brecon and Radnorshire, Buckingham, Cambridgeshire South, Cambridgeshire South East, Carshalton and Wallington, Ceredigion, Cheadle, Chelmsford, Chelsea and Fulham, Cheltenham, Chesham and Amersham, Chichester, Chippenham, Christchurch, Cities of London and Westminster, Cornwall North, Cotswolds, The, Devizes, Devon North, Devon West and Torridge, Dorset Mid and Poole North, Dorset North, Eastbourne, Eastleigh, Epsom and Ewell, Esher and Walton, Finchley and Golders Green, Guildford, Hampshire North East, Hampshire North West, Harrogate and Knaresborough, Hazel Grove, Henley, Hitchin and Harpenden, Horsham, Kenilworth and Southam, Kingston and Surbiton, Ludlow, Maidenhead, Meon Valley, Mole Valley, Montgomeryshire, Newbury, Newton Abbot, Norfolk North, Oxford West and Abingdon, Richmond Park, Romsey and Southampton North, Saffron Walden, Sevenoaks, Shropshire North, St Albans, St Ives, Stratford-on-Avon, Surrey East, Surrey Heath, Surrey South West, Sussex Mid, Sutton and Cheam, Taunton Deane, Tewkesbury, Thornbury and Yate, Tonbridge and Malling, Torbay, Totnes, Tunbridge Wells, Twickenham, Wantage, Wealden, Wells, Westmorland and Lonsdale, Wiltshire North, Wimbledon, Winchester, Windsor, Witney, Woking, Wokingham, Yeovil

#### Seats selected for the Green Party (24 seats)

Bournemouth East, Bournemouth West, Brighton Pavilion, Bury St Edmunds, Cannock Chase, Dorset West, Forest of Dean, Hampshire East, Herefordshire North, Isle of Wight, Lewes, New Forest West, Reigate, Rutland and Melton, Salisbury, Somerset North, Somerton and Frome, Stafford, Staffordshire South, Stroud, Truro and Falmouth, Vale of Glamorgan, Witham, Worcestershire West